

The Foreign Policies of Large Democratizing African States

South Africa and Nigeria

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Abstract

Large country size (measured by gross domestic product), democratizing regime type, and two exceptional leaders created sufficient conditions for innovative foreign policy leadership by two African states, including the creation of regional institutions committed to democracy and human rights norms and the willingness to intervene to stabilize war-torn states and uphold human rights and democratic values. The global democratic wave of the 1980s and 1990s provided pressures from outside and inside Africa for the promotion of democracy and human rights. In the 2000s, South Africa's Thabo Mbeki and Nigeria's Olusegun Obasanjo led in founding the African Union, the New Partnership for African Development, and other institutions that included democratic and human rights norms. These leaders helped make similar innovations in the Southern African Development Community and Economic Community of West African States respectively. Their nations' relatively large country size provided the basis for "symbolic hegemony"—leadership in creating norms and peacemaking. However, these states often have lacked the power and leadership to pressure other countries to democratize and observe human rights norms. In addition, less exceptional leaders in the 2010s accompanied a recession in foreign policy leadership, including a diminished commitment to democracy and human rights that coincided with the beginning of an autocratic wave. The two cases demonstrate that large size, assertive leadership, and democratizing regime type can produce innovative foreign policies that include limited democracy and human rights promotion.

Introduction

The democratic wave of the 1980s and 1990s and collapse of Soviet-led socialism, mass protests in Africa, and democracy and human rights promotion helped lead toward widespread democratization. Some African states moved toward democracy and beyond promoting regional solidarity with dictatorships and narrow national interests, and toward adopting innovative, value-laden foreign policies. Skillful democratic leaders of larger democratizing states used foreign policy re-

sources and state capacity to promote new institutions on a continental level and in their subregions. However, tensions remained between the values of leaders and the countries' interests and limited power, producing inconsistent foreign policies. In addition, autocratic states resisted pressures from large democratizing states, producing outcomes that left dictators in power. Eventually, less skillful leaders replaced skillful ones, and the democratic wave ended, lessening conditions for innovative foreign policies and the promotion of democracy and human rights. Instead, foreign policies narrowed to focus on assistance for economic growth.

Foreign policy innovation happens in the wake of wars, international crises, and systemic changes, with exceptional leaders devising new approaches. Prominent examples include the US "containment" of the Soviet Union, 1947–1992, with the end of World War II and multipolarity and the beginning of the US–USSR confrontation, as well as the "new world order" and "enlargement" of the world of free market democracies in the 1990s with the end of Soviet-led socialism. In Africa, the 1980s economic crisis led to democratization in the 1990s with the aim of accountability and "good governance" as a way to attract foreign aid and investment and produce economic growth and jobs.¹ This led to institutional innovation in the creation of the New Partnership for African Development (NEPAD) and African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM). The 1994 Rwandan genocide exposed the weakness of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) in conflict resolution and human rights maintenance, helping lead to the creation of a more interventionist African Union (AU), which established mechanisms to prevent and punish massive abuses. In the 2000s, most African states became parties to the International Criminal Court (ICC) to try human rights abusers and agreed to the "responsibility to protect" civilians (R2P) resolution adopted by the United Nations (UN) General Assembly in 2005.

The popular rejection of military and one-party rule and wave of democratization in Africa led to the innovation of norms supporting constitutional changes of governments and sanctions against unconstitutional change. In addition, the UN established democratic norms, including the stipulation that changes in government take place through constitutional procedures and free and fair elections. This was especially the case in UN peace operations, with efforts to hold free and fair elections and human rights monitoring in postconflict countries, many of which were in Africa. However, foreign policy innovation and norm acceptance became problematic in the face of resistance in the implementation phase.

Large states generally have foreign policy resources, including foreign affairs bureaucracies and economic resources, which they can use for agenda-setting and norm creation as well as diplomatic "carrots" and sizable militaries that can serve as "sticks." Large states with large GDPs that are democracies (or aspire to be) can

afford to adopt foreign policies that go beyond national interests and toward promoting democracy and human rights and that can credibly threaten multilateral intervention against authoritarian human rights abusers.² However, in Africa, large states may be ambitious in foreign policy innovation and can build consensus but often lack the power to compel other states to change behavior. Autocratic leaders of small, weak states can still resist intervention by playing the sovereignty card, even in contiguous states.

South Africa is the strongest state in Africa, with an industrial economy and diplomatic, economic, and military instruments of power as well as companies that operate throughout Africa. However, Pretoria still has limits on its influence and reach, operating in a large continent full of authoritarian leaders of weak states, who are resistant to change and cling to power. Chris Alden and Maxi Schoeman characterize South Africa as a “symbolic hegemon” with limited powers of implementation; they reference the failure to pressure neighboring Zimbabwe and eSwatini (Swaziland until 2018) to democratize as examples of such limitations.³ The symbolic hegemon moniker could also apply to Nigeria in West Africa. The country is more limited in power than South Africa and is a petro-state with a large population. It is important to note, South Africa and Nigeria, with GDPs just above 300 billion USD, are far from being major powers, such as China (12 trillion USD GDP) and India (2.5 trillion USD GDP).⁴

A democratizing regime is one that demonstrates a commitment to a transition from autocracy to democracy, even though it may continue to maintain limits on political competition and civil liberties. Democratic waves diffuse values to states that then undergo democratization, and these states in turn pass the values on to other states. Steven Levitsky and Lucan Way observe that contiguous states in Central and Eastern Europe in the 1990s were most effective in spreading democracy from one to another.⁵ Seva Gunitsky identifies four different types of democratic diffusion, including the “third wave”—“horizontal contagion” that spread from Portugal to Latin America, 1974–1989—and the post-Soviet wave of the 1990s—“vertical contagion” from the Soviet bloc to developing countries with failing experiments in state-led socialism.⁶ The collapse of the Soviet Union and “hegemonic shock” meant that there was no longer an alternative development model to that of Western free market democracy. In addition, the United States and other Western countries adopted programs to spread democracy.⁷ The US-led “new world order” of assertive multilateralism through the UN produced a willingness to intervene with peace operations to stabilize war-torn states in Africa, stop human rights abuses, and assist in democratization. There were a number of successes, such as Sierra Leone and Mozambique, as well as high-profile failures, such as Rwanda and Sudan.

Communism's failure in Central and Eastern European states led to democratization and then to foreign policies that included democracy and human rights promotion (e.g., that of Václav Havel's Czech Republic). The collapse of the Soviet Union sent shock waves throughout Africa, accelerating democratization, including in South Africa in 1994 and Nigeria starting in 1999. The democratic wave led some states to adopt democracy and human rights norms in their foreign policies.⁸ Finally, the democratic wave helped propel African leaders and states to conduct innovative foreign policies that led to NEPAD, the AU, and the adoption of democracy and human rights norms. However, the combination of the democratic wave and democratizing states still had limited impact on autocratic regimes, which resisted becoming more democratic and observant of human rights.⁹

Concerning foreign policy innovation and leadership qualities, experience, education, and personality play a role.¹⁰ For example, Woodrow Wilson had the background, vision, and determination to promote the concepts of collective security and self-determination in the 1910s. Franklin Delano Roosevelt and his advisors also had the experience and the ability to lead in building consensus during the development of the UN and Bretton Woods in the early 1940s. George Kennan had the vision and experience in Soviet affairs to generate the strategy of containment but not the leadership skills to implement his more diplomatic, Europe-centered version. While Paul Nitze shared Kennan's vision of containment, he was a consummate insider with the ability to implement a global, militarized version.¹¹ George H.W. Bush developed the vision of the "new world order" after the Persian Gulf War in 1991 and the foreign policy experience and ability to lead in implementation. However, Bill Clinton defeated Bush in the 1992 elections, leaving it to the Clinton administration to pursue its strategy of "assertive multilateralism" and "enlargement" of the world of free market democracies.

Thabo Mbeki and Olusegun Obasanjo were both exceptional leaders. Mbeki had a postgraduate education and foreign policy and political experience with the African National Congress (ANC)-in-exile and as President Nelson Mandela's deputy president; he was also a supporter of democracy and human rights. Obasanjo was military ruler, 1976–79, handed back power to civilians in 1979, campaigned against military rule in the 1990s, and had the ability to lead and willingness to promote human rights and democracy. In the 2000s, Mbeki and Obasanjo took advantage of large state size and the democratic wave to do more in foreign policy innovation than any other African leader since Ghana's Kwame Nkrumah. Before and after Mbeki and Obasanjo, there was markedly less foreign policy innovation and support for human rights and democracy, with the exception of Mandela–Mbeki, 1994–99.¹²

My approach is to analyze the impact of regime type and varying levels of size, democratization, and leadership on foreign policy innovation. I choose to focus on the cases of South Africa and Nigeria, because they are the two largest states in Africa and have the foreign policy resources that have made an impact.¹³ In addition, the democratic wave helped to propel them toward democracy and toward enabling exceptional leaders to innovate foreign policies that included episodes of values promotion and the creation of regional institutions that included democracy and human rights norms.

I analyze the effects of large size, pressures for democracy and human rights, and leadership on foreign policies in three distinct decades—the transitional 1990s, the activist 2000s, and the declining 2010s. Comparing leadership in the three periods, I demonstrate that a combination of the three factors brought foreign policy innovation and activism in the 2000s in contrast with the other decades.¹⁴ Concerning levels of analysis, I illustrate how South Africa and Nigeria were able to build consensus at the continental level for the founding of the AU and NEPAD and the inclusion of democratic of human norms and were able to lead in promoting values in their respective subregional organizations. At the global level, I explore how the two interacted with the United States, other powers, and the UN and responded to international pressures for democracy and human rights. In assessing to what extent they have included democratic and human rights norms in their foreign policies, the two cases demonstrate conflicting interests and varying ability and willingness to project power.¹⁵ Comparing South Africa and Nigeria demonstrates differences in foreign policy resources and influence between an industrialized democracy with some resources versus a semi-democracy with a large population and limited resources. However, even at the subregional level, both encountered difficulties in promoting democracy and human rights norms.

In the final analysis, I provide sufficient evidence that democratization, regime, and leadership type produce foreign policies that exhibit commitment to democracy and human rights. As is the case with other foreign policies, even that of the United States, interests often contradict norms. I also assess alternative arguments for the creation of the AU, NEPAD, and other instances of institution creation. I assess countervailing cases—Ethiopia, Rwanda and Senegal—to explore the validity of the three factors in countries where one or more of these factors is missing.

The 1990s: Democratization and Foreign Policy Innovation

Before the 2000s, South Africa was going through a challenging democratic transition with Nelson Mandela as president, 1994–99, and could only undertake modest foreign policy innovation. Nigeria was suffering through a kleptocratic

military dictatorship, 1985–1999, and its only innovation was the Economic Community of West African States Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) missions to enforce peace in Liberia and Sierra Leone, partly to demonstrate that it was a good international citizen despite an oppressive military dictatorship that flew in the face of the democratic wave.

Before 1994, apartheid South Africa was a large pariah state that influenced a few states in the subregion and the wider African continent to seek recognition and divide the OAU. In addition, the apartheid regime reached out to Western powers and a range of developing countries to ward off sanctions. The country was industrialized and had four times the GDP of all other Southern African states combined and almost equal to all of Africa's GDP. South Africa developed a large and capable foreign policy bureaucracy to defend apartheid. In 1994, the ANC-led government started to assume control of this bureaucracy.¹⁶

Starting in the 1960s, the ANC gained experience that helped it take over the state and develop an innovative foreign policy. The ANC-in-exile exhibited diplomatic skill in building a support network in Africa and abroad, gaining and taking advantage of observer positions at the UN General Assembly, Non-Aligned Movement (NAM), and OAU.¹⁷ In the 1980s, the ANC was able to lead the forces of resistance to apartheid South Africa by enlisting support from African states, the Soviet bloc, and the NAM as well as pressing for US and West European sanctions. The ANC-in-exile prepared for leadership by opposing the apartheid South African security state and actively participating as an observer in the Southern African Development Community (SADC) and the Group of Front Line States, with the aim of strengthening political and economic resistance to apartheid and helping Southern African states to balance against the apartheid regime.¹⁸

By the time the apartheid regime unbanned the ANC in 1990 and began the process of negotiating a transfer of power, the ANC had reestablished itself inside South Africa as the most popular movement for change. The ANC power base of super-majority black support would be important in providing backing for the post-apartheid regime's foreign policy leadership and use of diplomacy in Southern Africa and Africa as a whole from 1994 onward.

The democratic wave helped to expose the ANC's ideological divisions. The South Africa-based United Democratic Front, the external Anti-Apartheid Movement, and Nelson Mandela based their political positions on the 1955 Freedom Charter, envisaging South Africa as a multiracial, multiparty democracy with equal rights for all. The ANC's ally—the South African Communist Party—and many within the ANC leaned toward Soviet-led socialism. There was also skepticism about US-led democracy and human rights promotion during the Cold War, especially in the wake of the Reagan administration's "constructive engagement" policy

in cozying up to apartheid South Africa. This division would play a role in the new South Africa's foreign policy and Pretoria's approach to democracy promotion. With the collapse of the Soviet socialist bloc in 1990, the democratic wave, and Nelson Mandela's emergence from prison and assumption of leadership, the ANC moved away from a socialist platform and toward tentative support for free market democracy, which some saw as surrendering to Western neoliberalism.¹⁹

In 1994, the emergence of a democratic South Africa with a relatively large state and the ability to influence African countries, combined with the democratic wave, created conditions for foreign policy innovation. Nelson Mandela and the ANC came to power as senior partners in a power-sharing arrangement with the National Party in a transitional government. The "new South Africa" was cautious in its foreign policy in the 1990s. The transitional government focused its attention internally on implementing its Reconstruction and Development Programme and developing education, jobs, and housing for the millions of black victims of apartheid oppression. The transition required considerable domestic focus and placed limits on South African leadership in Africa, including in the OAU and SADC. Furthermore, given the negative legacy that the apartheid regime had built particularly in the Southern Africa region, the Mandela administration tried not to emulate the "bully" profile of apartheid South Africa and proceeded with sensitivity.

Despite a deliberate approach, Mandela led in some foreign policy innovation, including democracy and human rights promotion.²⁰ He exhibited moral leadership that derived from his record of opposition to the evils of apartheid and magnanimous reconciliation with the National Party that proved attractive to global public opinion and many world leaders.²¹ He said, "this must be a world of democracy and respect for human rights, a world freed from the horrors of poverty, hunger, deprivation and ignorance, relieved of the threat and the scourge of civil wars and external aggression and unburdened of the great tragedy of millions forced to become refugees."²²

Therefore, with Mandela at the helm, South Africa possessed "soft power" and diplomatic capacity and at times effectively used the diplomatic, information, military, and economic (DIME) instruments of power to play an important role as regional leader in Southern Africa and Africa as a whole, especially with the prestige and talents of Mandela. When the ANC assumed power, it had cultivated good relations with SADC and the rest of Africa and had no real enemies.

Antimilitarist voices dominated government thinking in the mid-1990s in a backlash to the brutality of the apartheid military. The 1996 Defence White Paper called for the judicious use of military power, only when vital South African interests were at stake, and a broader definition of "security" to include human security.²³ The voices and White Paper helped to create the basis for a foreign policy

that included developing the South African National Defence Force (SANDF) as a leader in peace operations and inculcating the security forces with concerns for democracy and human rights.²⁴ The 1994 Rwandan genocide also had an impact, driving thinking on how peace operations might react quickly, protect civilians, and prevent future massive human rights abuses.

Concerning innovation at the African and global levels, one of South Africa's first initiatives was leading African states in agreeing to the Treaty of Pelindaba in 1995 for an African Nuclear Weapons Free Zone, which would commit state parties to battle the proliferation of nuclear weapons materials. Thirty years of global leadership by the ANC's Abdul Minty and the nuclear expertise of the South African foreign policy bureaucracy—a reflection of state size and past experience at dealing with the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty (NPT)—were key ingredients in diplomatic efforts for the treaty. South Africa continued to lead at the global level in NPT review conferences held every five years from 1995 onward. In addition, South Africa fully rejoined the UN, including the Human Rights Commission. The country negotiated with the European Union (EU) for a trade deal. South Africa engaged with the United States in the binational commission, led by Deputy President Mbeki and Vice Pres. Al Gore, 1994–99.²⁵ While Mbeki and Gore helped the two countries heal the divide created by the Reagan administration's constructive engagement, Mbeki remained skeptical about US motives for promoting democracy and human rights.

The new South Africa innovated in peacemaking efforts in Africa, helping to resolve conflicts and holding out hope for the establishment of democracy and human rights. The genocide in Rwanda started in April 1994, occurring at the same time as Mandela and the ANC were campaigning for the 1994 elections. Pretoria's inability to act at that time led to the new South Africa's commitment to stop genocide as well as its support for the Rwandan Patriotic Front regime of Paul Kagame and efforts to build a "new Rwanda." In the latter half of 1994, South African diplomacy helped to reverse a military coup in Lesotho and restore democracy. At the same time, President Mandela intervened with Mozambican leaders to persuade both political factions in that country to follow through with multiparty elections and successfully save the United Nations Operation in Mozambique (ONUMOZ) from failure. Mandela and South Africa mediated between the two sides in the Angolan civil war, 1994–99, with little success as fighting resumed and intensified. In 1998, Mandela helped to persuade Libyan leader Colonel Mu ammar al-Gaddafi to hand over suspects in the Lockerbie aircraft bombing to end the damaging international sanctions on Libya's oil and gas industry. In 1999, Mandela, Deputy President Jacob Zuma, and South African

diplomats took over the peacemaking process in Burundi and shepherded it to success in 2002.²⁶

In May 1997, South Africa took the initiative in negotiations to persuade the longstanding dictator of Zaire, Mobutu Sese Seko, to resign, after gaining the trust of the leaders of an advancing rebel force, Laurent Kabila and Paul Kagame, whose Rwandan Patriotic Army played the leading role.²⁷ In addition, SANDF generals convinced Mobutu's generals to end resistance to Kabila and Kagame's forces and dissuaded foreign allies of Mobutu from intervening.²⁸ After Mobutu's departure, Kabila established the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), and Mandela and other SADC leaders invited him to join the subregional organization, especially given the close ties between Southern Africa and the DRC's mineral-rich Katanga Province.

In August 1998, Mandela and South Africa opposed Zimbabwe, Angola, and Namibia's intervention in the DRC at the invitation of President Kabila "in the name of SADC," because the three did not consult the other leaders of SADC for approval.²⁹ When the three refused to withdraw, South Africa proposed a new round of diplomacy to put an end to the renewed civil war. However, in 1998, some observers saw South Africa as tilting toward Rwanda partly because of a sense of guilt at Pretoria's inaction during the 1994 genocide. Coincidentally, the following month, South Africa and Botswana intervened militarily in Lesotho in the name of SADC, deploying the SANDF to stop a military mutiny and preserve democracy. The excessive use of force in the intervention tarnished the image of the new South Africa as a benign hegemon and demonstrated that the country had much to learn in the use of hard power in the cause of civilian rule and democracy.³⁰

In SADC, Mandela and South Africa proceeded cautiously. The entry of South Africa into the SADC in 1994 threatened the regional power that Zimbabwean president Robert Mugabe had accumulated and the civil war that Angolan president José Eduardo dos Santos was waging to consolidate his rule. In 1996, the SADC founded the Organ on Politics, Defense, and Security to deal with civil wars and other issues of instability. In opposition to Zimbabwe and Angola, which wanted to create a military-oriented body that would be able to provide mutual defense, South Africa worked with Botswana, Tanzania, and Mozambique to ensure that the new organization should be primarily a peacemaking body, committed to democracy and human rights.³¹

Concerning democracy and human rights, the pressures of the democratic wave and ANC human rights advocates clashed with the ANC's traditionally strong relations with NAM countries, producing a contradictory foreign policy that included democratic and human rights promotion but also solidarity with dictators who supported the ANC during the anti-apartheid struggle. Mandela's govern-

ment featured a commitment to combined social justice, an acceptance of free market democracy, and advocacy for social justice, democracy, and human rights in African organizations and in relations with several African states.³² However, the South African government permitted arms sales to human rights abusers, such as Syria; established close relations with Cuba and Libya and cordial relations with Iraq and Iran; and was reluctant to condemn human rights abuses by Myanmar and Indonesia. In these cases, support for the ANC during the struggle trumped the new South Africa's democratic and human rights values. In addition, a number of countries continued to contribute to the ANC's coffers after the party came to power, which swayed government policies to some extent.

The most challenging democracy and human rights case for South Africa came in 1995 with dictator Sani Abacha's human rights abuses in Nigeria. Abacha had imprisoned Obasanjo and the winner of the 1993 elections, M.K.O. Abiola, and other democratic leaders, accusing them of coup plotting, and was set to execute Ken Saro-Wiwa and eight other environmental and human rights activists in the Niger Delta. Initially, South Africa conducted a campaign of "quiet diplomacy" in the Commonwealth, OAU, and UN and bilaterally with visits by Mandela and Mbeki to Abuja. Pretoria opposed oil sanctions, partly because Nigeria continued to assist the ANC with financial contributions even after it assumed power in 1994. However, Namibia and Zimbabwe had already condemned Abacha's actions and called for the consideration of sanctions. Therefore, expectations grew that Mandela and the new South Africa would act. After his pleas for the lives of the activists went unheeded and the Abacha regime executed them on 10 November 1995, Mandela reversed his position and supported the suspension of Nigeria from the Commonwealth and the imposition of oil sanctions. However, Mandela's efforts to convince the OAU to suspend Nigeria and impose oil sanctions failed, with no country supporting his position. Mandela and South Africa had failed to conduct the necessary diplomatic work to win support from other African countries.³³ Some African leaders and observers saw Mandela's moves as a sudden overreach, while others saw it as evidence of the slow progress that democracy and human rights norms were making in the OAU during the 1990s. This episode spurred on South African leaders to strengthen democracy and human rights norms and enforcement powers in the AU in the 2000s.

Thus, South Africa in the 1990s exhibited a deliberate approach, with some foreign policy innovation. The democratic wave, South Africa's size (reflected in its established instruments of power), and the leadership of Mandela and Mbeki, as well as the ANC's relations with Africa, were responsible. However, Pretoria's failures in Nigeria and the DRC demonstrated that the new South Africa had much to learn about African foreign policies.

1990s Nigeria: Foreign Policy to Resist the Democratic Wave

After independence in 1960, Nigeria struggled to translate its large size in population and oil wealth into foreign policy innovation and success. However, the country was hobbled by domestic ethnic rivalries, the oil curse, and seven military coups.³⁴ Concerning successes, foreign policy served to keep the country from falling apart in the 1967–70 civil war, to strive to legitimate military rule, and to demonstrate leadership in West Africa. Nigeria worked with the United Kingdom, the United States, the Soviet Union, and most African states to counter the Biafra secession and the rebels' international supporters. The country led West Africa in the founding of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) in 1975, convincing francophone states to collaborate in its creation and development and basing the organization in the Nigerian capital. In late 1975 and 1976, General Murtala Muhammad and his successor, General Olusegun Obasanjo, stood up to the United States over Angola and recognized the dos Santos's Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola–Partido do Trabalho (MPLA) government, influencing the deadlocked OAU. In 1980, Nigeria led the first OAU attempt at peacekeeping in Chad. With the rise of Libyan-sponsored rebel movements in West Africa in Chad, Nigeria led ECOWAS states in negotiating a mutual defense pact that was agreed to in 1981. In sum, Nigeria had episodes of foreign policy success and developed an experienced foreign policy bureaucracy.³⁵ However, the kleptocratic Babangida and Abacha military dictatorships, 1985–99, weakened the state and the diplomatic instrument of power. With the return of civilian rule in 1999, Nigeria slowly emerged as a large state with democratic features and regained a degree of foreign policy effectiveness.

The democratic wave helped bring changes in Nigerian foreign policy, as the Babangida and Abacha dictatorships faced external and internal pressures to democratize and return to civilian rule. The two reacted by showing the international community that Nigeria could lead in making peace and upholding democracy in the region when no other country would. The self-styled “military president” Ibrahim Babangida deployed troops in the ECOMOG mission to Liberia in 1990, and his successor, Abacha, kept them there until 1997. Abacha deployed troops as part of ECOMOG to Sierra Leone in 1997 to reverse a military coup, and escalation by the Revolutionary United Front led to a siege on the capital, Freetown. In sum, Nigerian military dictators sent troops to uphold democracy in Liberia and Sierra Leone partly as a way of seeking international legitimacy for authoritarian rule in the face of democratic pressures.³⁶ The democratic wave and internal and external pressures on Nigeria in the 1990s finally achieved a breakthrough when

Abacha unexpectedly died in June 1998, and his successor, General Abdulsalami Abubakar, began the transition to civilian rule.

Thus, Nigeria's dictators in the 1990s used the country's oil wealth and military to strive for legitimacy by innovating in peace enforcement with the ECOMOG operations in Liberia and Sierra Leone. However, the military rulers never achieved the legitimacy that they sought. Instead, domestic opposition and international pressure helped lead to civilian rule, under which Nigeria could not afford such large-scale military deployments as occurred in the 1990s. In contrast, South Africa had a five-year head start on Nigeria and achieved modest foreign policy innovation. A competent foreign policy bureaucracy and Mandela and Mbeki's leadership helped achieve some gains in peacemaking.

2000s: Innovative Leadership, Institution-building, and Norm Creation³⁷

The arrival on the scene of presidents Obasanjo and Mbeki set the stage for major foreign policy innovation led by Nigeria and South Africa. Under their, South Africa and Nigeria worked effectively to innovate in multilateral settings, promoting ideas for African progress and change and persuading many countries to commit to work toward good governance, democracy and human rights, and more open, investor-friendly economies. South Africa and Nigeria's leadership in the generation of ideas and diplomacy led to the formation of new continental institutions, the AU, the Pan-African Parliament, NEPAD, and the African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA), including the African Standby Force (ASF).³⁸ South Africa and Nigeria sought to promote democracy and human rights norms through NEPAD and the AU.

In May 1999, Thabo Mbeki became South African president after serving five years as deputy president. He had spent 1960–1990 in exile, building ANC relations with states and international organizations and conducting diplomacy throughout Africa and the world.³⁹ As a result, he was more versed than Mandela was in the dynamics and leaders of Africa. Mbeki's connections, cosmopolitanism,⁴⁰ and ambition, as well as his foreign policy team enabled South Africa to become more assertive in African affairs.⁴¹

In 1998, Mbeki led in the launching of the "African Renaissance," which aimed to regenerate Africa's place in the world and build on Senegal's Cheikh Anta Diop and Léopold Senghor's vision of *negritude*, developed in the 1950s and 1960s, a movement aimed at raising and cultivating "Black consciousness" across Africa and its diasporas. Mbeki also helped to found the African Renaissance Institute that focused on education and the development of intellectuals and that

emphasized artistic and scholarly freedom.⁴² Mbeki also ensured that the African Renaissance included a vision of how to restructure African institutions to make them more effective, and he coined the Pan-Africanist rallying cry, “African solutions to African problems.”

In 1998, South Africa and more than 100 other countries adopted the Rome Statute of the ICC to try human rights abusers, which entered into force in 2002 and achieved its first conviction in 2012. That same year, South Africa supported the OAU in founding the African Court of Human and People’s Rights, which opened in 2002 and delivered its first judgment in 2009.

In 2000, Mbeki led in proposing the Millennium Partnership for the African Recovery Plan (MAP), which sought to fulfill Africa’s potential for social and economic development based on reform efforts, including democratization and respect for human rights. Using the MAP as a starting point, Mbeki joined with Obasanjo and other African leaders in founding NEPAD.⁴³ This included the APRM, which required African states to demonstrate progress to their peers in governance, including the development of democracy and human rights, as a means to attract foreign aid and investment and spur economic development. Through NEPAD and the APRM, South Africa led in developing a continental mechanism to impose standards of good governance and democracy.⁴⁴ NEPAD, the APRM’s prospect of increased aid, and investment were attractive to many African leaders and states who signed on to them, expecting increased flows from the West and multilateral financial institutions.

Peer review came into effect in 2004, and the first reviews took place mainly in SADC states. The new international institutional setting divided those states and leaders who were willing to undergo peer review and those who refused to move outside the shadow of “sovereignty.” In addition, NEPAD and APRM also set the stage for Mbeki and Obasanjo presenting the case for the doubling of aid to Africa at the 2005 Gleneagles G-7 Summit and at other venues.⁴⁵ Ultimately, South Africa continued to host the NEPAD secretariat, but the AU Political Commission took over NEPAD and APRM, reducing their autonomy and power to monitor and enforce good governance norms.

Mbeki and South Africa played the leading role in transforming the largely ineffectual OAU into the more authoritative AU. This proved to be the most significant instance of a large democratic state with skillful leadership innovating foreign policy, which included building consensus on democratic and human rights norms. In 1999, al-Gaddafi and Libya presented plans and provided funding in starting the process, and Mbeki and South Africa joined. The AU would feature stronger institutions, including those that would provide peace and security as well as democracy and human rights.⁴⁶ Soon afterward, South Africa took over the initiative

and drove it away from al-Gaddafi's vision of a "United States of Africa" with the colonel as head of state. Instead, South Africa led in the drafting of the AU Charter in 2000 and championed AU "non-indifference" to human rights abuses plus sovereignty as the "responsibility to protect" (rather than "non-interference in internal affairs of member states") as well as the right to intervene to stop genocide and other crimes.⁴⁷ In addition, Pretoria led in gaining approval for two of the AU Charter's provisions—line seven (democracy) and line 8 (human rights), as well as an African Charter of Human Rights. South Africa also led in establishing an AU APSA Early Warning Center, which would alert member states to impending conflict and massive human rights abuses. South Africa joined with other states in including AU provisions to suspend member states where unconstitutional changes in government, especially military coups, took place.⁴⁸

In 2003, South Africa helped lead in generating the ASF construct, with six deployment scenarios, including stopping genocide and ethnic cleansing and upholding human rights and democratic transitions. Subsequently, African military leaders approved the ASF and began the process of trying to operationalize it. ASF Scenario six held out the possibility that the force could intervene in another Rwandan-style genocide to stop massive human rights abuses and protect civilians.

In 2005, South Africa and Nigeria supported the "Responsibility to Protect" (R2P) at the UN World Summit and its four key concerns—to prevent genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing, and crimes against humanity.⁴⁹ In 2007, the two countries led in securing agreement on an African Charter on Democracy, Elections and Governance (ACDEG) that stood for free and fair elections and constitutional procedures for changes of government and suspension of countries from the AU that interfered with those procedures, such as military coups and changing the constitution to eliminate term limits.

Mbeki dramatically expanded South Africa's diplomatic role, playing a major role in ending wars in Burundi, the DRC, and Sudan; promoting movements toward democracy and human rights; and engaging in difficult negotiations in the Côte d'Ivoire peace process. From 2003 to 2005, South Africa supported the Sudanese People's Liberation Movement (SPLM) and human rights in southern Sudan, as the civil war came to an end and as the Darfur genocide accelerated. Mbeki and South Africa led in the Sun City negotiations that ended the interstate war in the DRC in 2003, a conflict involving almost a dozen different nations. The agreement put in place a power-sharing agreement and road map for democratization and protection of human rights. In 2006, the South African delegation's quick endorsement of the election of Joseph Kabila as DRC president subsequently elevated South Africa's standing and demonstrated a combination of skillful diplomacy and support for economic interests. However, in the complex and turbulent

eastern DRC, numerous guerrilla movements continued to clash with each other over mineral resources and land issues and preyed upon the civilian population.

Mbeki committed the SANDF to a number of AU and UN peace operations. Following on the heels of Pretoria's diplomacy, South Africa provided a protection force for leaders of the various factions to Burundi, then provided the backbone of the African Union Mission in Burundi (AMIB) peacekeeping force, and finally was a major troop contributor to the United Nations Mission in Burundi (MINUB). South Africa backed the peace agreement by the deployment of a protection force in 2001; then contributed peacekeepers to an AU mission (2002–04) and then a UN mission (2004–06).⁵⁰ South Africa sent peacekeepers to the United Nations Mission in the Democratic Republic of Congo (MONUC) in 2003.⁵¹ South Africa also provided troops for peace operations in Darfur and Comoros and deployed election support contingents to the DRC, Mozambique, and Tanzania. All peacemaking efforts called for adherence to constitutional principles.

In the SADC, South Africa led the way in convincing other member states to join a mutual defense pact in September 2003. The pact contained provisions on the decision-making process to avoid squabbles over intervention in the name of the SADC. In addition, South Africa led in securing agreement for a SADC free-trade area in August 2008, with plans for a customs union leading to a common market and monetary union by 2016. However, nontariff barriers continue to hamper trade expansion. South Africa continued to develop its mixed economy and interacted economically with Africa and the world. In the area of trade, post-apartheid South Africa practiced nonreciprocity within the Southern African Customs Union (SACU). In the 1990s, Pretoria's main domestic imperative was job creation and preservation, which explains why it was unwilling to extend SACU arrangements immediately to the rest of the SADC. However, in the 2000s, South Africa gradually expanded nonreciprocity to the rest of the SADC. In addition, Pretoria led the SADC in seeking a trade agreement with the EU, which interfered with development of the SADC free-trade area.

Mbeki and South Africa undertook a number of diplomatic initiatives to bring peace to troubled SADC countries, namely Zimbabwe, Angola, and eSwatini (Swaziland), with the aim of power sharing, reconciliation, and democracy. Resistance came from autocratic leaders who were fearful of South Africa's promotion of democracy and the right to intervene to stop massive human rights abuses. In the case of Zimbabwe, 2002–08, Pretoria could have imposed sanctions but chose solidarity and "quiet diplomacy" over democracy. Mbeki played the leading role in negotiating with Mugabe and eventually arrived at a power-sharing agreement. In 2000, Mugabe had issued orders to seize white commercial farms for redistribution, which, over time, devastated the economy and resulted in catastrophic

levels of hyperinflation. In March 2002, assaults on opposition party officials and white commercial farmers and the unfree and unfair presidential elections led to EU and US sanctions and Zimbabwe's suspension from the Commonwealth, which Pretoria believed worsened the chances for conflict resolution. In 2002 and 2008, South Africa participated in SADC election monitoring teams to Zimbabwe, which tended to downplay election irregularities. Despite the flagrant abuses of democratic and human rights norms, Mbeki opposed sanctions and argued that South Africa's quiet diplomacy would end the crisis, which was a reflection of ANC solidarity with a leader and country that had provided support during the liberation struggle. The end result was that Mugabe remained in power, and Mbeki proved powerless to change his behavior. In the meantime, Mbeki helped prevent Mugabe and Zimbabwe from holding any leadership positions within the SADC.⁵² The Zimbabwe crisis and Mugabe's undemocratic and economically disastrous behavior harmed the image of the NEPAD, Mbeki and South Africa, and the SADC. In addition, Zimbabwe, in 2008, led in indefinitely suspending the SADC Tribunal that had ruled in favor of 79 Zimbabwean commercial farmers whose land the government had seized.

In 2008, the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) won parliamentary elections and the first round of presidential elections. After massive repression and fraud, Mugabe claimed victory in the second round. Finally, after fraudulent elections, Mbeki and other SADC leaders persuaded Mugabe and the opposition leader, Morgan Tsvangarai, to agree on a power-sharing arrangement. While this seemed to be a victory for democracy and human rights, Mugabe abused his position as the senior partner in the government and undermined the MDC's popularity.

Concerning other resistance, the monarchy in eSwatini opposed democratization pressures from the South African government and civil society, even though the small country was virtually surrounded by South Africa. Unlike Zimbabwe and eSwatini, Angola did not share a border with South Africa and continued to oppose Pretoria's efforts to spread democracy, good governance, and human rights. Resistance also came from further afield in Africa, including Libya and Sudan. The Sudanese military dictator, Omar al-Bashir, objected to South African support of the SPLM and criticism of massive Sudanese human rights abuses in South Sudan and Darfur.

In 2007, the year before the financial crisis and great recession, South African Minister of Finance Trevor Manuel hosted the G20. Mbeki and Obasanjo participated in several G7 summits, besides Gleneagles 2005, dealing with African debt and development issues. South Africa's relations with the United States declined with the latter's 2003 invasion of Iraq and the creation of US Africa Command (2007–08), and attempts to situate that command on the continent. Mbeki

viewed the Bush administration's democracy promotion as a cover for regime change. While Mbeki gained international status for himself as a norm setter and peacemaker, he lost some of the moral authority that Mandela had garnered. The biggest detraction was Mbeki's persistent denial that HIV causes AIDS. In September 2008, the ANC removed Mbeki from power.

The leadership of Mbeki, combined with the democratic wave and South Africa's disproportional power, led to significant foreign policy innovation, including the creation and transformation of African institutions that emphasized democracy, good governance, and human rights as well as the right to intervene to stop massive human rights abuses and crimes against humanity. South Africa also achieved significant gains in peacemaking and peacekeeping under Mbeki. However, Mbeki and South Africa were unwilling to use Pretoria's economic and military power to compel Zimbabwe, eSwatini, and other countries to abide by democratic and human rights norms. This was mainly due to deference for countries that had provided support for the ANC during its struggle during the apartheid era.

Obasanjo and Nigerian Foreign Policy Innovation, 1999–2007

In 1999, with elections that were partially free and fair, President Obasanjo and other Nigerian leaders claimed that the country had returned to democracy and expected preferential treatment from the international community. This belief and aspiration helped to drive the country's foreign policy and promotion of democracy and human rights.⁵³ Just as important, the election of Obasanjo led to foreign policy innovation. Obasanjo had been an active player in Nigerian foreign policy when he was military ruler from 1976 to 1979, and his leadership in handing power back to civilian rulers through democratic elections in 1979 gained him international approval. In the 1990s, he established international contacts with a wide range of government and nongovernmental organization leaders, including Mbeki and Mandela, during his resistance to the Abacha regime.⁵⁴ From 1999 to 2007, Obasanjo drove many of Nigeria's foreign policy innovations and accomplishments.⁵⁵ However, Nigerian lawmakers criticized Obasanjo for not consulting them and not using the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, with his foreign minister playing mainly a supporting role.⁵⁶

Obasanjo's principal goal was to rebuild Nigeria's economy and political system after the ruinous military regimes. He undertook extensive shuttle diplomacy to reassure international partners that Nigeria was reforming. The most concrete goal was to overcome the debt that Babangida, Abacha, and previous rulers had left Nigeria. This meant economic diplomacy and working with the United States, France, and the United Kingdom and through the Paris Club to reschedule the country's debt. Ultimately, his efforts paid off in October 2005, with a final agree-

ment for debt relief worth 18 billion USD and reduction of Nigeria's debt stock by 30 billion USD that was completed in April 2006.⁵⁷

On the global level, Obasanjo led in refurbishing Nigeria's image and elevating it on the world stage.⁵⁸ Of particular importance was President Bill Clinton's 2000 visit and support for Obasanjo and civilian rule and democratization. In the aftermath, Nigeria requested US support in peacekeeping training and equipment, which the United States provided for four Nigerian Army battalions in Operation Focus Relief. Nigeria deployed two battalions to the UN Mission in Sierra Leone (UNAMSIL). In addition, Washington instituted programs to help Nigeria in developing democracy and human rights observance. The United States also punished the Nigerian military for human rights abuses; for example, suspending aid in 2003, because the army killed hundreds of civilians in intervening between two warring ethnic groups.

In 1999, Obasanjo joined Mbeki in promoting the African Renaissance, MAP, NEPAD, and the process that led to the founding of the AU in 2002. Nigeria provided funding for the NEPAD, and Obasanjo was personally involved, sitting on the board. Subsequently, Nigeria and six ECOWAS states submitted governance to the APRM. In addition, Nigeria acceded to the Treaty of Rome and the ICC and supported R2P at the UN World Summit. Despite this commitment to human rights, the Obasanjo regime struggled to keep its security forces from continuing to commit abuses.

President Obasanjo and Nigeria helped lead in negotiating the ECOWAS Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management, Resolution, Peacekeeping and Security in December 1999 in Lomé, Togo. The mechanism established a security architecture, including a Protocol on Democracy and Good Governance. The protocol strengthened norms against military coups and other unconstitutional changes in government, such as ending term limits. The new civilian government in Abuja was fearful of another military seizure of power and was especially interested in the ECOWAS anti-coup norm.⁵⁹ The mechanism also included an ECOWAS Peace and Security Council that established procedure for more legitimate, orderly, and humane peace operations than those of the 1990s, as well as an early warning mechanism and a Council of the Wise to mediate in disputes and conflicts. Starting in 2003, Nigeria led ECOWAS in steps toward developing the West African Standby Brigade as part of the ASF.

Nigeria demonstrated leadership against coups and other unconstitutional seizures of power. In 2003, Nigeria helped to reverse a military coup in nearby São Tomé and Príncipe. In 2005, Abuja became involved in the transition process in Togo after the death of the dictator Gnassingbé Eyadéma and an attempted military coup. Because of pressure from Nigeria, ECOWAS, and other West Af-

rican states, the military backed down and allowed free and fair democratic elections and a constitutional denouement. However, the result was that Eyadéma's son, Faure, won the election and carried on the dynasty. The Protocol on Democracy set the stage for other interventions in the region.⁶⁰

Unlike his military dictator predecessors, Obasanjo and civilian-ruled Nigeria had limited foreign policy and military resources. Therefore, Nigeria could not afford to pay for large-scale military expeditionary operations like ECOMOG. In 2000, Obasanjo withdrew Nigerian troops from Sierra Leone to cut costs and hand over responsibility to UNAMSIL. However, he had to return troops after the UN mission faced collapse, with the UN footing the bill and the US Operation Focus Relief providing training and equipment. Through the skillful use of diplomacy and UN and US support, Abuja led in restoring a lasting peace and democracy in Sierra Leone and Liberia at a lower cost. In addition, the UN paid much of the cost of Nigerian peacekeepers deployed to the DRC, Darfur, and Liberia.

In 2003, Liberian rebel groups closed in on the capital Monrovia and the former warlord cum president Charles Taylor. Obasanjo and Nigeria played the leading role in negotiations to end the civil war. In the meantime, the United States pressured Obasanjo to provide Taylor into exile to smooth the transition. In September, Nigeria led a three-week ECOWAS (ECOMIL) intervention that removed Taylor and replaced him with a transitional government. The UN Security Council (UNSC) authorized the United Nations Mission in Liberia (UNMIL) that took over from ECOMIL in October.⁶¹ Nigeria played a leading role in UNMIL; the transition to a democratically elected Liberian government led by Pres. Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf; and security-sector reform, including providing generals to lead the new Liberian army. In 2006, the United States—after pressuring Obasanjo to take Taylor in 2003—demanded that Nigeria hand Taylor over to the Sierra Leone War Crimes Tribunal. After some resistance and US sanctions, Nigeria complied.

In 2003–04, Nigeria intervened in the Darfur genocide to try to stop massive human rights abuses and bring peace. At the same time, President Obasanjo was AU chair and became a major actor in negotiating between the Khartoum government and the SPLM and the Justice and Equality Movement that had started fighting in February 2003. He and Pres. Idriss Déby of Chad attempted to stop the escalation of tensions following a rebel attack on a military airfield in April 2003. Their efforts led to the Intra-Sudanese Dialogue in September 2003, which eventually led to a peace talks in Abuja in August 2004. However, a new wave of fighting led to mass killing, rape, and displacement by the Sudanese Janjaweed militia backed by the Sudanese military, starting in November 2003. More interventions by Obasanjo, the Nigerian government, and others led to a Humanitarian Cease-

fire Agreement in April 2004. Nigeria led the Abuja Peace Talks and AU Mission in Sudan (AMIS) and was the first troop-contributing country in Darfur.

Obasanjo spent much of the year involved in Darfur as well as in working to complete the Comprehensive Peace Agreement between southern Sudanese led by the SPLM and the Khartoum government. Despite Obasanjo and Nigeria's efforts, the genocide continued. The AMIS lacked the capacity to stop the burning of villages and killing, rape, and displacement or rebel activity by several different groups. Therefore, Nigeria took the issue to the UNSC to convert the AMIS into a better-resourced and larger UN peacekeeping mission. After overcoming Sudanese and Chinese resistance, the UNSC approved United Nations–African Union Mission in Darfur (UNAMID) hybrid mission in 2007. Nigeria became a major troop-contributing country and provided force commanders to UNAMID.

Obasanjo accepted the verdict of the Nigerian parliament in denying him a third term by refusing to amend the constitution. This led to Obasanjo's elevation in the international community. Within eight short years, Obasanjo had led Nigeria back to respect in the international community. After Obasanjo left office, he continued to engage in foreign policy activities, particularly through the AU and ECOWAS's Councils of the Wise, and intervened in a number of crises and helped to bring about resolution.

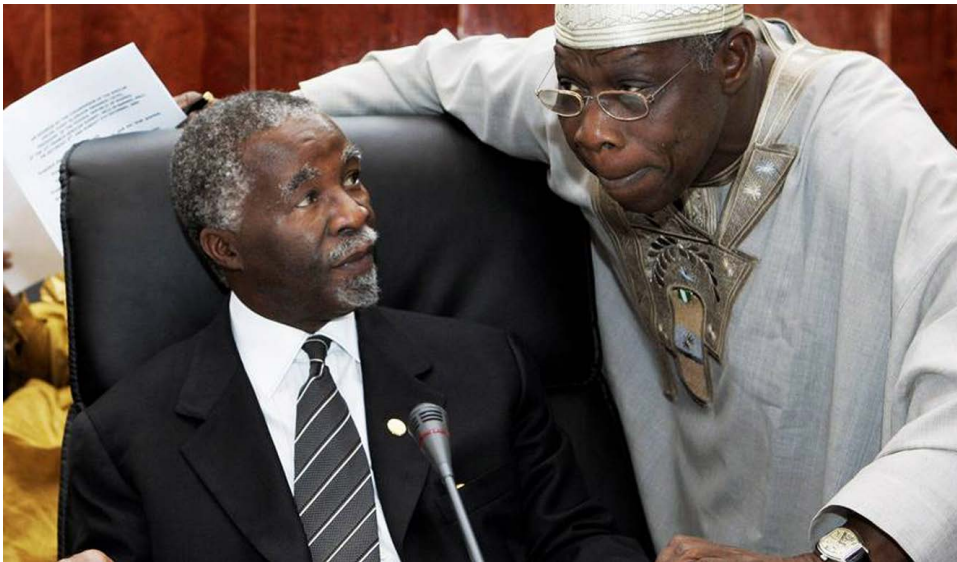


Figure 1. Continued leadership. Former presidents Mbeki and Obasanjo discuss issues at the 6th Tana High-Level Forum on Security in Africa, held in Bahir Dar, Ethiopia, 22–23 April 2017.

Both Mbeki and Obasanjo had international experience and leadership qualities that enabled them to take advantage of large state size and the democratic wave to lead in foreign policy innovation. Mbeki picked up where Mandela left off and succeeded in achieving his Pan-Africanist vision. Obasanjo had to start largely from scratch, though the ECOMOG provided useful lessons regarding how Nigeria should handle peacemaking and peacekeeping. Burundi provided the SANDF with the opportunity to correct the mistakes that it had committed in Lesotho in 1998 and set the stage for SANDF deployments to several UN peacekeeping missions.

2010s: Weaker Leaders, Internal Turmoil, and Foreign Policy Decline

In 2007 and 2008, weaker leaders with limited foreign policy experience took power in Nigeria and South Africa respectively, which coincided with a decline in foreign policy innovation and support for democracy and human rights norms that persisted through the 2010s. In addition, both countries experienced internal turmoil that distracted attention from foreign policy matters. While the United States and other Western countries continued to promote democracy, autocracies were learning how to resist, and strongmen ended a number of democratic experiments. While the AU and subregional organizations had established democratic and human rights norms, implementation and enforcement proved difficult. After signing on to the ICC and R2P, a number of African states began to push back against the ICC as an “anti-African institution” after the indictment of Sudan’s President al-Bashir and Kenyan leaders Uhuru Kenyatta and William Ruto.

Nigeria: Post-Obasanjo Decline

In 2007, Obasanjo picked Umaru Musa Yar’Adua as his replacement, once it became clear that a third term was impossible. President Yar’Adua was inexperienced and in poor health, and many considered him to be an Obasanjo puppet. Therefore, he was both physically and experientially unable to undertake the high level of diplomatic activity that his predecessor achieved. Furthermore, Nigeria had to deal with an ongoing insurgency in the oil-rich Niger Delta and its deleterious effects on the economy. Therefore, innovative foreign policy ideas, such as “citizen diplomacy,” gave way to economic diplomacy.

In 2009, Yar’Adua died, and Vice Pres. Goodluck Jonathan took power. He was similarly inexperienced in foreign policy. In addition, he faced a number of issues that prevented him from being active in foreign policy. Although Jonathan’s amnesty to militia fighters helped to end the Niger Delta insurgency, he had to deal

with the resurgence of the Boko Haram terrorist organization, which distracted Nigeria from foreign policy. In addition, the Nigerian government continued to focus on economic diplomacy.⁶² Nigeria and the ECOWAS continued to deal with unconstitutional changes in government. In 2009, the ECOWAS and AU suspended Guinea-Conakry for a military coup; however, the organizations did not suspend Niger for an unconstitutional change.

Global powers continued to assess Nigeria as second to South Africa in terms of economic power. Nigeria was not invited to the first G-20 heads of state summit in 2009 to deal with the global financial crisis. In addition, Russia, China, India, and Brazil chose South Africa over Nigeria as the African BRICS representative. In 2011, the Arab League, the United States, France, and the United Kingdom persuaded Nigeria and South Africa to vote for UNSC Resolution 1973, which called for “all means necessary to protect civilians” in Libya in the spirit of R2P and protect civilians in Benghazi and elsewhere in Libya from al-Gaddafi’s forces.⁶³ The UN vote, the AU’s failure to convince al-Gaddafi to compromise, and al-Gaddafi’s subsequent murder cast a shadow over the organization and the leadership of Nigeria and South Africa.

In March 2012, Tuareg separatists took over northern Mali and declared the Republic of Azawad. In response, Captain Amadou Sanogo led a military coup in Bamako that caused the ECOWAS to suspend Mali. In June, extremist organizations took over the north and threatened to take over the rest of the country and the Sahel. Nigeria participated in delicate diplomacy to persuade Sanogo and the military to transition to a civilian government and agree to allow an ECOWAS force—the African-led International Support Mission to Mali (AFISMA)—to guarantee the transition and restore Malian sovereignty in the north. In January 2013, Nigeria deployed air and ground forces to Mali, and a Nigerian general commanded AFISMA. However, when the extremists began to advance toward the Malian capital, AFISMA was incapable of stopping them, and France had to intervene with Operation Serval, which defeated the militants. In August, as the situation in northeast Nigeria deteriorated, President Jonathan announced the withdrawal of Nigerian forces. Mali demonstrated the limitations of Nigerian power and that of the ECOWAS.⁶⁴

After the Boko Haram insurgency escalated in 2009, the United States periodically protested to Nigeria about military atrocities carried out in the northeast and elsewhere. In 2014, as Washington ratcheted up the pressure, Nigeria suspended security cooperation. In addition, US and global opinion mobilized after Boko Haram seized 276 Chibok schoolgirls and increased pressure on the Jonathan government to act. After four unfree and unfair elections starting in 1999, Nigeria in 2015 executed its first relatively clean election; the country moved a

step closer to full democracy; and Muhammadu Buhari defeated President Jonathan and assumed office. President Buhari confronted Boko Haram and the Islamic State–West Africa (ISWA) and falling oil prices and subsequently took action against the extremists and corruption. His assurances led the United States and Nigeria to resume full relations, including security cooperation. In acting against Boko Haram and the ISWA, Buhari agreed to expand the role of the Multinational Joint Task Force–Lake Chad Region that had existed since 1994. This allowed Chad, Cameroon, and Niger forces to enter Nigerian territory.⁶⁵ In addition, the fall in oil prices and subsequent recession forced Nigeria to focus once again on economic diplomacy to attract foreign direct investment for the petroleum industry and deal with a mounting debt crisis. However, Abuja failed to attract foreign capital toward boosting the industrialization and manufacturing to diversify the Nigerian economy.⁶⁶

In December 2016, Buhari and President Macky Sall of Senegal led the ECOWAS in acting to restore President-elect Adama Barrow to his rightfully elected position in Gambia and force out the dictator Yahya Jammeh. Senegal and Nigeria led the way in deploying troops. The intervention demonstrated that Nigeria and the ECOWAS could succeed in acting to uphold democracy and human rights with a relatively modest operation. This contrasted with the AFISMA's failure in January 2013 to stop the advance of extremist forces in Mali.⁶⁷

Thus, the Obasanjo presidency was the one instance in which Nigeria engaged in foreign policy innovation. At the same time, Obasanjo had to conduct economic diplomacy to reconstruct Nigeria. Economic diplomacy became the main focus of subsequent Nigerian leaders, as well as combating Boko Haram. Despite having the largest economy in Africa, an analysis of Nigeria's foreign policy reveals the country's inherent weakness.

South Africa: Post-Mbeki Decline

By the time the ANC removed Mbeki from office in September 2008, South Africa's leadership role had already been established and institutionalized in the AU and SADC. In 2009, Zuma became president and proved to be not as effective as Mbeki. Zuma did not have Mbeki's international exposure and education due to his incarceration in South Africa, 1962–72, and focus on ANC guerrilla operations. However, Zuma managed to play a significant role in making peace in Burundi in the early 2000s. He also took a tougher line on Mugabe than Mbeki had. Once Zuma became president, he focused on warding off corruption charges, maintaining power internally, and economic diplomacy, especially with the G-20 and the BRICS and seeking foreign assistance and investment. The 2012 Mari-

kana mine massacre and outbursts of xenophobia marred Zuma's presidency, marking strains that remain today.

Under Zuma, South Africa focused on building strategic partnerships with the G-20, dealing with the fallout from the 2008 financial crisis and global recovery issues in subsequent years. In 2011, Russia, China, India, and Brazil invited South Africa to join the BRICS bloc of emerging economies as the African representative, even though the other four countries dwarfed it in terms of economic power. In addition, South Africa strengthened relations with China, agreeing to a comprehensive strategic partnership in 2010.⁶⁸ South Africa's failure to pressure Zimbabwe, eSwatini, and other countries to democratize and respect human rights and its inclusion in the G-20 and the BRICS signify that the international community values the country's "soft power," even though it is relatively weak. Thus, Alden and Schoeman's characterization of South Africa as a symbolic hegemon.⁶⁹

In 2012, one notable foreign policy success was the election of President Zuma's wife, Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma, as chair of the AU Commission, 2012–17.⁷⁰ She spearheaded the launch of Agenda 2063—a long-term vision of where Africa should proceed. Dlamini-Zuma managed to turn South Africa's attention to continental issues for the first time since Mbeki in 2008. However, she was criticized for not spending more time at AU Headquarters and for not acting to defuse crises in the DRC, Gambia, and elsewhere.

After Mbeki, there was less South African involvement in strengthening key human rights and democracy institutions and instruments. For one, democracy and human rights norms have not been part of the purpose of the BRICS consortium. In addition, South Africa lapsed in its efforts to see that African states ratified the ACDEG.⁷¹ In 2011, after Libyan rebels killed al-Gaddafi, South Africa revised its support for R2P, objecting to the use of military force to protect civilians, because it could be arbitrary. At the time, South Africa was leading an AU delegation trying to peacefully resolve the Libyan Civil War. Once NATO began bombing Tripoli and inadvertently aiding the rebels, South Africa protested that the United States and others were violating the spirit of the resolution and marginalizing the AU peacemaking effort.⁷²

In 2014, Zuma congratulated Bashar al-Assad of Syria on winning the 2014 presidential election. This was at a time in which al-Assad was leading his security establishment in the killing of hundreds of thousands of citizens and the imprisonment and torture of tens of thousands and the displacement of millions. In June 2015, the South African government failed to turn over Sudanese president al-Bashir to the ICC. He had been convicted *in absentia* of ordering the Darfur genocide and was in the country for an AU summit. The High Court ordered the Zuma government to detain al-Bashir, but the government allowed him to board

a plane and leave the country. In the wake of the diplomatic crisis, the Zuma government started measures to withdraw South Africa from the ICC and to encourage other African states and the AU to do the same. However, the South African Supreme Court blocked this executive action based upon South Africa's ratification into law of the Treaty of Rome that established the ICC.

Concerning foreign policy measures that supported democracy and human rights, in 2009, South Africa helped lead the SADC and AU in suspending Madagascar and imposing sanctions after a military coup. In 2014, the SADC and AU lifted the suspension and sanctions after Madagascar implemented a process to restore civilian rule. In 2013, South Africa led Mozambique and Tanzania in the UN Force Intervention Brigade in the eastern DRC to augment the United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUSCO) and defeat the M-23 rebels who were committing massive human rights abuses and had captured the regional center of Goma. Pretoria also continued to deploy troops to several UN peacekeeping operations. In 2018, South African troops deployed to Lesotho along with other SADC troops to stop another mutiny and coup.

A negative aspect of SANDF deployments occurred in January 2013, when 15 SANDF soldiers died at the hands of the Séléka militia in the Central African Republic (CAR), which caused an uproar in South Africa due to the impression that SANDF forces were there to protect ANC mining interests and were not properly armed.⁷³ The forces had first been deployed in 2007 to protect CAR president François Bozizé and his regime against rival militias.

In 2018, Cyril Ramaphosa, who had significant foreign policy experience, took over from Zuma, but has subsequently focused internally on repairing the domestic damage caused by Zuma; the Gupta family's "state capture," in which this business family leveraged private interests to significantly influence Pretoria's decision-making processes to their own advantage; corruption; and a stagnant economy. Despite domestic pressures, President Ramaphosa and then-Minister of International Relations and Cooperation Lindiwe Sisulu promised a "new approach" to South African foreign policy in December 2018, when South Africa voted with the majority in the UN General Assembly, condemning Myanmar for genocide against the Rohingya minority. Pretoria announced this new approach as South Africa began a two-year term as a nonpermanent member of the UNSC, vowing to stress the issues of Palestine and Western Sahara.⁷⁴ South Africa assumed the presidency of the council in October 2019 and brought forward issues relating to women, peace and security, South Sudan and the DRC, and cooperation between the council and the AU Peace and Security Council (PSC).⁷⁵ South Africa led the other 14 UNSC members to Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, for the An-

nual Joint Consultative Meeting with the AU PSC—in anticipation of South Africa assuming the chair of the AU in 2020.

South Africa and Nigeria experienced declines in foreign policy leadership and innovation in the 2010s, including democracy and human rights promotion. Although the democratic wave ended, the reasons for the decline have more to do with weaker leaders combined with increases in domestic challenges. While Nigeria under Buhari promised a fresh start and Gambia provided a glimmer of hope, domestic issues and economic diplomacy continue to distract from foreign policy leadership in the ECOWAS and AU. South Africa continues to experience domestic challenges, but leadership change, Ramaphosa and Sisulu's new approach, and positions at the UN, AU, BRICS, and G-20 hold out more hope for a new wave of foreign policy innovation.

Conclusion

This article has demonstrated that large country size, democratizing regime type, and exceptional leaders created sufficient conditions for innovative foreign policy leadership by two African states, including the creation of regional institutions committed to democracy and human rights norms and the willingness to intervene to stabilize war-torn states and uphold human rights and democratic values. The global democratic wave of the 1980s and 1990s provided pressures from outside and inside Africa for the promotion of democracy and human rights. Mandela, Mbeki, and Obasanjo championed those norms in multilateral and bilateral settings, though their nations' interests often trumped values, leading to inconsistent foreign policies. Mbeki and Obasanjo benefited from the wave in founding and then leading the AU, NEPAD, and other institutions that included democratic and human rights norms. However, implementing the norms has proved to be difficult, given a large continent full of authoritarian leaders resistant to change and clinging to power.

Concerning South Africa and Nigeria's relatively large size and foreign policy innovation, they have sizable GDPs or GDPs per capita and are respected in Africa and their subregions. While they have provided leadership in peacemaking and peacekeeping, they still have limits on influence and reach, given the large geopolitical space full of autocrats. Thus, the two countries' relatively large size has provided the basis for symbolic hegemony—leadership in creating norms—while lacking the power and leadership to pressure other countries to democratize and observe human rights norms.

Concerning leadership, foreign policy innovation and symbolic hegemony, Mbeki and Obasanjo took advantage of large state size and the democratic wave to do more than any other African leaders, especially in the promotion of democ-

racy and human rights. From 1994 to 1999, Mandela and Mbeki, as deputy president, managed some innovation. After Mbeki and Obasanjo, there were less capable leaders and less innovation, including a coinciding diminishment in commitment to democracy and human rights. However, the AU, NEPAD, and other institutions were already established, and the democratic wave had ended with the beginning of an autocratic wave. In addition, less exceptional leaders accompanied a recession in foreign policy leadership.

It is difficult to disentangle leadership qualities, state size, and democratization. In analyzing the correlation among foreign policy innovation and size, leadership, and democratization, one must take into account the fact that the rate of institution creation was at its peak, 2000–2003, for various reasons and that new institutions logically could not be created after that. In addition, African conflicts peaked in the 1990s, and the rate of conflict resolution peaked in the 2000s; thus, the instances of peacemaking after that could not be emulated in the 2010s.

Other countries besides Nigeria and South Africa led in the creation of the AU, NEPAD, and other institutions that included democracy and human rights norms. Ethiopia, Rwanda, and Senegal are cases of foreign policy innovation, including human rights promotion, where one of the three explanatory variables is missing. Ethiopia is a large state with an exceptional leader—Prime Minister Meles Zenawi—that was swept along by the democratic wave but halted democratization in 2005. Especially before 2005, the country demonstrated foreign policy innovation and activism, including some support of democracy and human rights norms through the AU and NEPAD—siding with Mbeki over al-Gaddafi—as ways to alleviate Ethiopia’s debt burden. After the 2005 crackdown, Ethiopia’s commitment to AU and NEPAD norms waned. Rwanda is a small, nondemocratic state with an exceptional leader—Paul Kagame—that the democratic wave touched but did not change. The United States and European powers did not pressure Rwanda to democratize due to “genocide guilt” and impressive socioeconomic development. Despite Rwandan government repression, the country supported human rights against genocide through the UN and AU, especially by sending battalions for peace operations that protected civilians. However, Kagame and Rwanda resisted democracy promotion. Senegal is a small democracy with significant leaders—presidents Léopold Senghor (1960–78), Adbou Diouf (1978–2000), and Abdoulaye Wade (2000–12)—who effectively promoted the African Renaissance and democracy and human rights in the NEPAD, AU, and ECOWAS despite limited foreign policy resources.

While Nigeria demonstrated foreign policy innovation and promotion of democracy and human rights in the AU, NEPAD, and ECOWAS under President Obasanjo, South Africa enjoyed a longer period that started with President Man-

dela in 1994 and continued with Mbeki. Subsequently, domestic challenges and weak leaders weighed more heavily on Nigeria after 2007, as foreign policy focused on economic diplomacy to alleviate debt and depressed oil prices and diversification. South Africa's soft power and stronger economic standing attracted the G-20 and BRICS, which enabled Pretoria to overcome the Zuma presidency and other domestic challenges and continue some foreign policy innovation. The removal of Zuma and installation of Ramaphosa have enabled South Africa to launch a new wave of foreign policy innovation and democracy and human rights promotion. While President Buhari brought hope that Nigeria could regenerate Abuja's foreign policy, domestic challenges and his authoritarian personality have confined the country to economic diplomacy.

Dr. Stephen F. Burgess

Dr. Burgess has been a professor of international security studies at US Air War College since June 1999. He has published books and numerous articles, book chapters, and monographs on Asian and African security issues, peace and stability operations, and weapons of mass destruction. His books include *The United Nations under Boutros Boutros-Ghali, 1992-97* and *South Africa's Weapons of Mass Destruction*. His recent journal articles include "Russia, South Asia, and the United States: A New Great Game?," *Journal of Indo-Pacific Affairs* 2, no. 3 (Fall 2019); "A Pathway toward Enhancing the US Air Force-Indian Air Force Partnership and Deterrence in the Indo-Pacific Region," *Journal of Indo-Pacific Affairs* 2, no. 1 (Spring 2019); "Multilateral Defense Cooperation in the Indo-Asia Pacific Region: Tentative Steps toward a Regional NATO?" *Contemporary Security Policy* (December 2017); "Rising Bipolarity in the South China Sea: The Impact of the US Rebalance to Asia on China's Expansion," *Contemporary Security Policy* 37, no. 1 (April 2016); and "The US Pivot to Asia and Renewal of the US-India Strategic Partnership," *Comparative Strategy* 34, no. 44 (July 2015). He holds a doctorate from Michigan State University (1992) and has been on the faculty at the University of Zambia, University of Zimbabwe, Vanderbilt University, and Hofstra University.

Notes

1. *Governance and Development*, World Bank, 1992. The Bank promoted the concept of good governance in the 1980s and 1990s as part of persuading states to fight corruption and make themselves attractive to foreign investment.

2. Dennis Kumetat, "Gaddafi's Southern Legacy: Ideology and Power Politics in Africa," in *The Rise of the Global South: Philosophical, Geopolitical and Economic Trends of the 21st Century*, ed. Justin Dargin (Singapore: World Scientific, 2013), 125-52. In addition, relatively small but oil-rich autocracies—Algeria and Libya—helped lead in innovation in the late 1990s and early 2000s, as did Senegal, a small democracy.

3. Chris Alden and Maxi Schoeman, "South Africa's symbolic hegemony in Africa," *International Politics* 52, no. 2 (February 2015): 239-54.

4. In terms of the World Bank's purchasing power parity measure, China's GDP is 27 trillion USD; India's is 11.5 trillion USD; Nigeria's is 1.2 trillion USD; and South Africa's is 813 billion USD. Nevertheless, South Africa is the African representative of the G-20 (Nigeria is excluded).

5. Steven Levitsky and Lucan Way, "International Linkage and Democratization," *Journal of Democracy* 16, no. 3 (July 2005): 20-34.

6. Seva Gunitsky, "Democratic Waves in Historical Perspective," *Perspectives on Politics* 16, no. 3 (September 2018): 634-51.

7. Thomas Carothers, *Critical Missions: Essays on Democracy Promotion* (Washington, DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2004).

8. In contrast to some democratizing states, India had been a large democratic state since 1947 and did not promote democracy and human rights in Asia or South Asia.

9. Nelli Babayan and Thomas Risse, eds. *Democracy Promotion and the Challenges of Illiberal Regional Powers* (New York: Routledge, 2016).

10. David Patrick Houghton, *The Decision Point: Six Cases in U.S. Foreign Policy Decision-making* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013).

11. Nicholas Thompson, *The Hawk and the Dove: Paul Nitze, George Kennan, and the History of the Cold War* (New York: Henry and Holt, 2009).

12. While South Africa and Nigeria were less innovative after 2008, both agreed to the use of force to protect human rights in Libya, while Nigeria led in democratizing Gambia in 2016 and South Africa in stabilizing Lesotho in 2018. In addition, it was difficult to create new African institutions, as the AU, NEPAD, and APSA were already established.

13. Both South Africa and Nigeria are relatively large in that they have over 300 billion USD in gross domestic product (much higher in purchasing power parity terms).

14. In analyzing the correlation between foreign policy innovation and size, leadership, and democratization, one must take into account the fact that the rate of institution creation was at its peak, 2000–2003, for various reasons, and that new institutions logically could not be created after that. In addition, African conflicts peaked in the 1990s, and the rate of conflict resolution peaked in the 2000s, so the instances of peacemaking after that could not be emulated.

15. Freedom House has classified South Africa as “free” since 1994, even though the ANC has dominated politics and government since then. Since 1999, Freedom House has classified Nigeria as “partly free” with gradually improving political rights as opposed to gradually declining civil liberties.

16. Alden and Schoeman, “South Africa’s,” 239–54. The foreign policy bureaucracy underwent reform after the Muldergate scandal of the late 1970s and became more professional.

17. Scott Thomas, *The Diplomacy of Liberation: Foreign Relations of the ANC since 1960* (London: I.B. Tauris, 1995), 164.

18. Thomas, *Diplomacy of Liberation*, 164. The SADC was the Southern African Development Coordination Committee (SADCC) from 1980 to 1994.

19. Alden and Schoeman, “South Africa’s,” 239–54.

20. James J. Hentz, *South Africa and the Logic of Regional Cooperation* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2005). Adekeye Adebajo, et al., eds., *South Africa in Africa: the post-apartheid era* (Pietermaritzburg: University of Kwazulu-Natal Press, 2007).

21. Peter Kagwanja, “Power and Peace: South Africa and the Refurbishing of Africa’s Multilateral Capacity for Peacemaking,” *Journal of Contemporary African Studies* 24, no. 2 (May 2006): 159–86. In the 1990s and 2000s, the following SADC states—Mozambique, Tanzania, Zambia, Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland, and Malawi, as well as the island states of Mauritius, Madagascar, and Seychelles—aligned with South Africa for a number of reasons. Only Zimbabwe and Angola and, to an extent, Namibia resisted.

22. Nelson Mandela, *Notes to the Future: Words of Wisdom* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2012), 170.

23. South African Department of Defence, *Defence in a Democracy: White Paper on National Defence* (Pretoria: Government Printer, 1996).

24. Anthony McGrew, "Liberal Internationalism: Between Realism and Cosmopolitanism," in *Governing Globalization: Power, Authority and Global Governance*, ed. Anthony McGrew and David Held (Cambridge, UK: Polity, 2002), 267–69; G. John Ikenberry, "An Agenda For Liberal International Renewal" in *Finding Our Way: Debating American Grand Strategy*, ed. Michèle A. Flournoy and Shawn Brimley (Washington, DC: Center for a New American Security, 2008), 45–59.
25. Deputy President Jacob Zuma succeeded Mbeki on the US–South Africa Binational Commission, 1999–2001.
26. Kristina A. Bentley and Roger Southall, *An African Peace Process: Mandela, South Africa and Burundi* (Pretoria: Human Sciences Research Council, 2005).
27. D. Venter, "South African Foreign Policy Decision-making in the African Context" in *African Foreign Policies*, ed. Gilbert Khadiagala and Terence Lyons (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 2001), 174.
28. Gilbert A. Lethwaite, "Mandela standing as Kabila's ally: S. African leader drawing criticism in U.S., at home," *Baltimore Sun*, 29 May 1997.
29. Gilbert M. Khadiagala, "Foreign Policy Decision-making in Southern Africa's Fading Frontline" in *African Foreign Policies*, ed. Gilbert Khadiagala and Terence Lyons (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 2001), 131–58.
30. Theo Neethling, "Military Intervention in Lesotho: Perspectives on Operation Boleas and Beyond," *OJCPR, The Online Journal of Peace and Conflict Resolution* 2, no. 2 (May 1999), <http://www.operationspaix.net>.
31. Horst Brammer, "In Search of an Effective Regional Security Mechanism for Southern Africa," *Global Dialogue* 4, no. 2 (August 1999), 21–22.
32. Karen Smith, "South Africa and the Responsibility to Protect: From Champion to Sceptic," *International Relations* 30, no. 3, (July 2016): 391–405.
33. Thabo Mbeki, "How Abacha humiliated Mandela," politicsweb.za, 29 February 2016.
34. The *oil curse* refers to political and economic dysfunction caused largely by poor management or investment of oil revenues by the governments of oil-producing countries.
35. A.S. Gusau, "Littering the Landscape: An Analysis of the Role of Nigeria in the Transition of OAU to the African Union," *European Scientific Journal* 9, no. 8 (2013): 165–80.
36. J. Shola Omotola, "From Importer to Exporter: The Changing Role of Nigeria in Promoting Democratic Values in Africa," in *African Politics: Beyond the Third Wave of Democratisation*, ed. Joellen Pretorius (Cape Town: Juta, 2008), 37.
37. FreedomHouse.org. The democratic wave slowed in the late 1990s and began to recede, starting in 2007. However, South Africa remained at the same level of freedom as in 2000, and Nigeria successfully made the transition to civilian rule that was "partially free." Both countries remained officially committed to good governance, democracy, and human rights for Africa, but implementation of those principles proved problematic in practice, especially in Nigeria.
38. Kagwanja, "Power and Peace: South Africa," 159–86.
39. Mark Gevisser, *A Legacy of Liberation: Thabo Mbeki and the Future of the South African Dream* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009).
40. Percy Zvomunya, "Moeletsi Mbeki: More than just the second son," *Mail and Guardian*, 26 August 2011. Thabo and Moeletsi Mbeki were both educated and spent much of their lives abroad. Achille Mbembe described them as two of the "most cosmopolitan" South Africans. This is in contrast to presidents Nelson Mandela and Jacob Zuma and other ANC members who spent most of their lives in South Africa.

41. Laurie Nathan, "Consistency and Inconsistency in South African Foreign Policy," *International Affairs* 81, no. 2 (April 2005): 361–72. *See also*, South African Department of International Relations and Cooperation, *Strategic Plan, 2003–2005*, Website Host: Department of Foreign Affairs, South Africa, <http://www.dfa.gov.za>.
42. W.A.J. Okumu, *The African Renaissance* (Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 2002).
43. President Abdoulaye Wade of Senegal and President Abdulazeez Bouteflika joined with Mbeki and Obasanjo in leading in the founding of the NEPAD.
44. Adekeye Adebajo and Christopher Landsberg, "South Africa and Nigeria as Regional Hegemons," in *From Cape to Congo: Southern Africa's Evolving Security Challenges*, ed. Mwesiga Baregu and Christopher Landsberg (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 2003), 171–204. Adebajo and Landsberg characterize South Africa as a benign regional hegemon that established hegemonic stability.
45. Nicholas Bayne, "Managing Globalisation: The Commonwealth in the International Economy," in *The Contemporary Commonwealth: An assessment, 1996–2009*, ed. James Mayall (New York: Routledge, 2010), 103.
46. T. Tieku, "Explaining the Clash of Interests of Major Actors in the Creation of the African Union," *African Affairs*, 103 (2004): 249–67.
47. Smith, "South Africa and the Responsibility," 391–405.
48. Cyril Obi, "The African Union and the Prevention of Democratic Reversal in Africa: Navigating the Gaps," *African Conflict & Peacebuilding Review* 4, no. 2 (Fall 2014): 60–85.
49. Smith, "South Africa and the Responsibility," 391–405.
50. Bentley and Southall, *An African Peace Process*.
51. SANDF peacekeepers have served in the DRC in MONUC, 1999–2011 and MONUSCO, 2011–present.
52. Nathan, "Consistency," 361–372. In 2003, Mugabe was able to gain election to an African Union position representing Southern Africa. In addition, a number of leaders outside of SADC sided with Mugabe and opposed Mbeki's quiet diplomacy.
53. Omotola, "From Importer to Exporter," 37.
54. John Ilemona, "A Study of the Nigerian Foreign Policy under President Olusegun Obasanjo, 1999–2007" (master's thesis, University of Nigeria, Nsukka, June 2014).
55. John Campbell, *Nigeria: Dancing on the Brink* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2013), 143–60.
56. Isiaka Alani Badmus and 'Dele Ogunmola, "Re-Engineering Nigeria's Foreign Policy in the Post-Military Era: Olusegun Obasanjo's Presidency and Nigeria's African Foreign Policy," *Journal of International and Global Studies* 9, no. 1 (2015): 56–76.
57. Lydia Polgreen, "Nigeria Pays Off its Big Debt, sign of an Economic Rebound," *New York Times*, 22 April 2006.
58. Campbell, *Nigeria: Dancing on the Brink*, 143–60.
59. Angela Ndinga-Muvumba and Abdul Lamin, "West Africa's Evolving Security Architecture: Looking Back to the Future" (Durban: Centre for Conflict Resolution, 31 October 2006).
60. Ayodele Akenroye, "Ecowas and the Recent Coups in West Africa: Which Way Forward?" IPI Global Observatory, 8 May 2012, <http://globalobservatory.org/>.
61. Omotola, "From Importer to Exporter," 41.
62. Ramatu Jaji and A.Y. Ayontunde, "The Contours and Depth of Nigeria's Foreign Policy under Goodluck Jonathan," *International Affairs and Global Security*, 48 (2016): 13–17.

63. Phillip Apuuli Kasaija, "The African Union (AU), The Libya Crisis and the notion of 'African solutions to African problems'," *Journal of Contemporary African Studies* 31, no. 1 (2013): 117–38.
64. Jaji and Ayotunde, "The Contours and Depth," 13–17.
65. Robin A. Hardy, "Countering Violent Extremism in Sub-Saharan Africa: What Policy Makers Need to Know," *World Affairs* 182, no. 3 (2019): 256–72.
66. Olowojolu Olakunle, "Mid Term Report of President Muhammadu Buhari's Foreign Policy," *Journal of Arts and Contemporary Society* 9, no. 2 (2017), 8–9.
67. Bailey Saleh, "An Assessment of Nigeria's foreign Policy and Economic Relations under Buhari's Administration, 2015–2018," *SSRN*, 5 August 2019.
68. Luanda Mpungose, "South Africa's Foreign Policy under Zuma: Towards Greater Strategic Partnerships," South African Institute of International Affairs (SAIIA), 2018, <https://saiia.org.za/>.
69. Alden and Schoeman, "South Africa's," 239–54
70. Carien du Plessis, "Dlamini-Zuma's failures, achievements as AU Commission chair," *news24*, 25 January 2017.
71. Ndubisi Christian Ani, "How Serious is the African Union about Democracy?" Institute for Security Studies, 1 October 2018.
72. Smith, "South Africa and the Responsibility," 391–405.
73. John Campbell, "Why Were South African Soldiers in the Central African Republic?" Council on Foreign Relations, 2 April 2013.
74. Pelane Phakgadi, "SA Vote in Support of UN Resolution on Human Rights in Myanmar Part of 'New Approach'," *news24*, 25 December 2018.
75. Gustavo de Carvalho and Priyal Singh, "South Africa Ends Its First Big Act on the UN Security Council," Institute for Security Studies, 29 October 2019.

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